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281 There are no taboos
[284] child with the period except that attending a dance will interfere with proper dyeing and that if small children know too much the older group they will fail to grow up rapidly. For his services the young man is paid a nominal sum of an arrow, or nowadays a penny, per child. He seldom makes more than twenty or thirty cents for a week's work. When I asked why a young man undertook such a task when the reward was so small, the answer was, "Because he likes to be near young girls."

304 On the last day or two of the period those who are to have their
281 teeth filed go through the ordeal. The same person who prepared the dye usually does the tooth filing. The subject's head is laid on the thigh of the operator and wedged against his side with his elbow. The jaws are propped open with a piece of cornstalk. The six upper and six lower
[342] front teeth are then filed to half their length with an ordinary knife blade which has been nicked to resemble a saw. Apparently experience makes it possible to avoid the root canal, which occupies only the upper half of the incisors. The whole operation takes about two or three
[337] hours, and for this the operator is paid the equivalent of about five cents. It is undoubtedly painful but, as in tattooing, it is bad form to admit it. The result of this filing means that even when the back teeth
[338] are occluded, the tongue will show pinkly between the gaping front teeth when a person smiles. This is considered definitely attractive.

The complete informality of this ceremony is manifest by the fact that some of the young people return two or three years in succession if the first attempt at blackening was not successful. Also, anyone, at any time, may have his teeth filed down to a straight, even line for appearance's sake. The range of ages is also wide. Boys may be from about fourteen to twenty and girls from twelve to eighteen. There is no regulation against young married people joining the group. The married people, however, are most likely to be girls, since marriage comes early for them.

Tattooing, the beginning of masculine vanity, courting, and tooth blackening are all preliminaries to marriage for young people. It will be necessary now to describe the financial elaborations involved in marriages for the young Alorelangers, how they enter into such relationships, and what some of the associated sex attitudes and practices are.

STRUCTURE OF MARRIAGE FINANCE

● 323 Marriage has as one of its major functions the establishment of a series of exchanges between groups of extended affinal kin which will continue as long as the marriage lasts. There are three major types of

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bride-price balanced by three types of dowry payments. These all have 583
separate native terms.

	Bride-Price	Dower
Payments in gongs and moko	*kafuk*	*mading*
Payments in pigs	*pakuk*	*fla*
Free gifts of pigtoes, corn, and rice	*pongko*	*dowgwa*

In arranging a marriage the young people frequently reach an agree- [584]
ment first and then persuade their elders to assist in the negotiations. Just as frequently a marriage may be a matter of financial expediency for the adults, to which young people are often quite acquiescent. Regardless of how a particular marriage has been arranged, it is necessary for the kinsmen to discuss, sometimes over a period of months, just how the exchanges will be initiated. First of all *wamuna*,* an engagement gift or option on the girl, must be given. This consists of a moko worth from $1.50 to $2.50 for the girl's father and a shawl worth $.75 to $1.50 for the mother. The theoretic bride-price and dowry payments in moko should consist of the following series:

Bride-Price (*kafuk*)		Dower (*mading*)	
kekuk (his war arrow) *Afulpo* moko	$35.00	*rakaly kafikla* Maningowuk moko	$ 5.00
		12 dozen anklets	do
		head dozen pennants	.25
kekekda (his junior) Howauka moko	7.50	*kekekda* (her junior) Maningowuk moko	5.00
kenni (his third) Kolowala moko	6.50	*kenni* (her third) Tamamia moko	4.00
kenni (his fourth) Maningowuk moko	5.00	*kekeni* (her fourth) Piki moko	1.50
keyoring (his fifth) Tamamia moko	4.00	*keyoring* (her fifth) Kabuli moko	1.50
kenalowa (his sixth) Piki moko	1.50	*kenalowa* (her sixth) Fatafa moko	1.25
	$62.50		$20.10

This is purely a formal list of the approved payments and their relationships. It indicates a tendency for bride-prices to be three times as large as dowries. No case in my records exactly corresponds to such a theoretic description. What actually happens is that the male kin, in discussing the moköes each side has available, make a purely expedient arrangement which only approximates the theoretic one. Before the consummation of the marriage, the man should make the engagement gift and pay the first, and highest priced, moko. Without further cere- 585
mony the girl then goes to live with him.

Theoretically she then becomes a member of his village and his line-

* This term is the equivalent of our "no trespassing." It refers to branches placed on a house door as a sign that the owner wishes no one to enter during his absence.

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age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation. Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure. Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

In addition to the larger bride-price–dowry exchanges there are the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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moko. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Maliseni. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Atamau and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage to an older man.

Senlaka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atamau. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Senlaka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moko, instead of allowing Senlaka to contribute it to a feast for a return payment in mokos, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Senlaka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Senlaka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Senlaka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensitive on that score as all boys in Atimelang. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Senlaka was a good houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a moko from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Karieta with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his moko at interest to Maliseni, the same financier who figured in the preceding anecdote and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Senlaka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Senlaka went to see the girl, her kin berated him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

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[I asked whether she knew her husband at the time he brought a gift to her uncle's death feast. See Lomani's story on March 12.] No, I had never seen him before. [Did you want to marry him?] Djetmani wanted to marry me. His kinsman Lakamau came to stay with him one night, and Djetmani said, "I have a woman, but someone else has hidden my shawl [meaning that Maliemai, who later became his first wife, was in love with him and wanted to marry him], so you had better marry Lomani. We shall go and get a pig for her uncle's death feast, and you can have her." Then they went together to Rualkameng and got the pig and brought it here. They went to Fanlang and asked what he thought. Fanlang called me and asked me if I was willing. I said it was all right. I said my uncle was the one who would have got my bride-price, and if Lakamau wanted to give a pig for his death feast, it was all right with me. So I went to him. He never paid a bride-price or received a dowry before his death. [This was qualified in the next day's story. Here was an account of a cheap marriage, both for the man, who got a wife with only the gift of a pig for a death feast, and for the woman's kin, who were rid of an orphaned female without a dowry. This does not mean that later bride-price and dowry exchanges were wiped out, but the arrangement made it obvious that the marriage was a poor one, not a money-making investment.]

March 16, 1939

[Again I asked for dreams. Lomani said she had none, so I told her where she left off yesterday. There was a long pause. She seemed each morning to have difficulty in starting. Hoping to start her talking on the sibling about whom she seemed so reticent, I asked whether her sister Kawaimani was already married when she herself married.] No, Kawaimani was not married. [Why not?] She was all wounds—her legs, hands, and face. [Where was she living?] She lived in the little house that mother built at Kamangmelang. [All alone?] Yes, but Matinglang and Letlani had a house right next to hers. [She again came to a full stop. The interpreter here interfered and told her to talk more.]

When we made Manimai's Hevelakang feast, Maitama and Cornelius [two sons of Manimai, who were about her own age] gave me a pig and corn to take to Lakamau. The corn was for Lakamau's mother. His mother was harvesting corn when we went. Maitama and Cornelius went to Rualkameng with me. When they left to return, I stayed and helped my mother-in-law with the corn. After a long time Lakamau didn't pay a bride-price, so the chief of Atimelang and his younger

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RICE CONES FURNISHED BY THE HOST IN A HOUSE BUILDING FEAST

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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE WIFE'S FAMILY IN A DOWRY FEAST

[FACING p. 276]

613 476 A more usual outlay is for the building of lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of all the descendants in the male lines of a designated forebear, and the houses become the center of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole community is invited to help. In return the helpers are feasted, and that means both buying pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may be a dozen or more such feasts in the course of erecting a lineage house, construction may progress in short stages over a period of years to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

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437 764 602 The death feasts are another object of expenditure. When a man dies, certain of his kin, the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute the shroud, grave services, pigs and mokos. These preliminary feasts and services occur during the first eight days after death. Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years later, two return feasts must be given at which the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon by negotiation. They may range as high as three hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously not all the dead get such elaborate financial treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites for children or young men and women may be made as a side issue when feasts for their more important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved in these elaborate and long-drawn-out transactions must be carried in people's heads. There is no system of writing, not even a system of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One man who gave such a feast summarised the transactions in connection with that ceremony alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors involving two hundred items to remember. This was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is true that the singular accomplishments of the Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled by an equally singular lack of interest in what we should call abstract thinking or theorizing.

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583 606 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship which a man establishes in his lifetime is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially financial—the establishment of a system of group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The dowry, however, is only about a third of the bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at once, but gradually over a period of many years. The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he pays the first and largest moko. After that the

[p. 485 B]

583 606 bridegroom is under repeated pressure from his father-in-law, and his wife as well, to continue the series of agreed payments. A woman's loyalty, especially in the beginning, seems more often to lie with her own family than with her husband, and she may even refuse sexual privileges to a husband delinquent in his payment of the bride price. But the payment in mokos is not the whole story. There are also bride price and dowry exchanges in flesh foods and in vegetable foods. In fact, the affinal kin are always counted upon as a primary source of contributions whenever a financial enterprise is undertaken. In case of divorce the difference between the bride price and dowry payments to date are reckoned and the difference must be paid back to the husband. Naturally, the longer a marriage lasts, the larger these sums become, with the result that the economic factor helps to stabilize marriages. It might appear at first blush that the Alorese women become the pawns in a masculine game of finances, and within limits there is some validity to such estimates. However, not only is the woman valuable as a sex object and the producer of those children who will give one's death feasts, but she is the provider of food. Without a wife a man will have to work for his subsistence, and without her coöperation and good will he will not be able to raise the surplus rice and corn necessary for those very feasts on which his prestige rests. Her powers are very real, even though they are not the ones chosen for social recognition and prestige; and she knows how to use them.

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000 All this account has failed so far to give an idea of how a young man enters upon the financial rôle he is required to play on a more or less grandiose scale. The case of Senlaka is instructive in this connection.

When Senlaka was about fourteen he began thinking of marriage and the bride price he would have to accumulate. For helping his mother with the hot, hard tasks in the fields his mother and father gave him a piglet, partly as reward, partly to start him on his financial career. Senlaka took good care of it, feeding it regularly until it was large enough to exchange for a five-dollar moko. Unfortunately his father at that time was planning a death feast and high-handedly appropriated his son's pig. Senlaka was furious but helpless. He vowed angrily that he would never again raise pigs, a vow he stubbornly kept for years. Had his father lived, Senlaka might have had his help in buying a wife and his attitude about pig-raising might have had no very serious repercussions. Unfortunately, however, the father died and there was